

Chronology of 1948

- **January:** British sells 20 Auster planes to Jewish authorities in Palestine. Palestinian guerrilla leader 'Abd al-Qadir al-Husseini secretly returns to Palestine after ten-year exile to organize resistance to partition.
- **January 8:** First contingent of 330 ALA volunteers arrives in Palestine.
- **January 14:** Haganah concludes \$12,280,000 arms deal with Czechoslovakia, including 24,500 rifles, 5,200 machine guns and 54 million rounds of ammunition.
- **January 16:** British report to UN estimates 1,974 people killed or injured in Palestine from 30 November 1947 - 10 January 1948.
- **January 20:** British administration announces that predominantly Jewish or Palestinian areas will be gradually handed over to local majority group in every area concerned.
- **January 21 & 28:** Second and third contingents of 360 and 400 ALA irregulars arrive in Palestine. January - March: JNF leaders encourage eviction from villages of Haifa area.
- **February:** Haganah office set up in US under name "Land and Labor" for recruitment of professional military personnel (MAHAL).
- **February 14:** Ben-Gurion issues orders to Haganah commander in Jerusalem for conquest of whole city and its suburbs.
- **February 18:** Haganah calls up men and women aged 25 - 35 for military service.
- **February 20:** Ship Independence arrives at Tel Aviv with 280 volunteers under oath to Haganah on board, implementing policy of illegal immigration of military personnel.
- **February 24:** US delegate to UN says role of Security Council regarding Palestine to keep peace, not enforce partition. Syrian delegate proposes appointment of Committee to explore possibility of Jewish Agency - Arab Higher Committee agreement.
- **February 27:** Jewish Agency announces it will establish state even without backing of an international force.
- **March:** Transjordanian prime minister Tawfiq Abu al-Huda secretly meets British foreign secretary Bevin. They agree that Transjordanian forces will enter Palestine at end of Mandate but will restrict themselves to area of Arab state outlined in Partition Plan.
- **March 2:** US delegate tells Security Council US favors implementing partition by "peaceful measures" only.
- **March 5 - 7:** Qawuqji enters Palestine and assumes command of ALA units in central Palestine. March 6: Haganah declares general mobilization.
- **March 10:** British House of Commons votes to terminate Mandate on May 15th.
- **March 19 - 20:** US delegate asks UN Security Council to suspend action on partition plan and to convene General Assembly special session to work on a trusteeship and truce if Jews also accept. Jewish Agency rejects trusteeship.
- **March 19:** Ben-Gurion declares Jewish state dependent not on UN partition decision but on Jewish military preponderance.
- **March 25:** President Truman secretly receives Chaim Weizmann at White House and pledges support for declaration of Jewish state on May 15th.

- **March 30 - May 15:** Second coastal "clearing" operation carried out by Haganah Alexandroni brigade and other units. Attacks and expulsions drive out almost all Palestinian communities from coastal area from Haifa to Jaffa prior to British withdrawal.
- **April 1:** Ship Nora delivers first consignment of Czech arms in Haifa. UN Security Council resolutions call for a special session of General Assembly and agree to US proposal for truce to be arranged through Jewish Agency and Arab Higher Committee.
- **April 2:** Haganah captures Palestinian village of Castel, west of Jerusalem, expelling its inhabitants. April 5: Palestinian and Zionist leaders object to US proposals presented to Security Council for temporary trusteeship agreement. Haganah launches Operation Nachshon (first phase of Plan Dalet); Haganah Giv'ati Brigade and other units capture villages along Tel-Aviv - Jerusalem road from local Palestinian militia.
- **April 8:** Haganah starts offensive against Palestinian town of Tiberias.
- **April 9:** 'Abd al-Qadir al-Husseini, charismatic Palestinian militia commander in Jerusalem district, is killed leading counterattack to recover Castel village. Irgun and Stern Gang massacre some 120 inhabitants in village of Deir Yassin, western suburb of Jerusalem and three miles from Castel.
- **April 12:** General Zionist Council decides to establish independent Jewish state in Palestine on May 16th.
- **April 13 - 20:** Operation Har'el under Plan Dalet launched at conclusion of Operation Nachshon. Villages along Jerusalem road attacked and demolished. All subsequent Haganah operations until May 15th undertaken within framework of Plan Dalet.
- **April 16:** British evacuate town of Safed.
- **April 17:** Security Council resolution calls for military and political truce. Haganah starts offensive against town of Safed.
- **April 20:** US submits Palestine trusteeship plan to UN.
- **April 21:** British suddenly evacuate residential quarters of Haifa.
- **April 22:** Haganah launches Operation Misparayim to attack and occupy Haifa. Resistance of local Palestinian militia in Haifa collapses. Haifa's Palestinian population flees under combined shelling and ground offensives.
- **April 25 - 31:** Launching of Operation Chametz to conquer Jaffa, Haganah attacks suburban villages of Tell Rish, Yazur and Salameh.
- **April 26:** Launching Operation Yevussi for conquest of whole of Jerusalem; Haganah attacks Palestinian residential quarter of Sheikh Jarrah in East Jerusalem, cutting off the city from north, but are forced to hand it over to the British. Haganah's attempt at cutting off Jerusalem from Jericho fails.
- **April 27:** Haganah announces coordination of plans with Irgun.
- **April 28 - 30:** Palestinian ALA unit under Michel Issa succeeds in fighting its way into Jaffa in order to break Haganah siege.
- **April 30:** All Palestinian quarters in West Jerusalem occupied by Haganah and residents driven out.
- **May 1:** Lebanon and Syria decide to send troops to Palestine at end of Mandate on May 15th.
- **May 2:** Iraq dispatches troops to town of Mafraq, in Transjordan, en route to Palestine after May 15th. Three planeloads of arms for Haganah arrive from France.

- **May 3:** Between 175,000 and 200,000 Palestinian refugees are reported to have fled from areas taken by Zionists. Jewish colonists from Gush Etzion, south of Jerusalem, ambush traffic on road to city.
- **May 4:** Unit of Transjordan Arab Legion, operating in Palestine under British command, shells Gush Etzion in retaliation for ambush. British announces it is studying transitional trusteeship regime for Palestine to take effect at end of Mandate.
- **May 5:** ALA unit under Michel Issa withdraws from Jaffa, ending city's resistance.
- **May 10:** Haganah enters Jaffa.
- **May 11 - 12:** Haganah captures Safed and surrounding villages.
- **May 12:** State of emergency declared in all Arab countries and able-bodied Palestinian men barred entry to them. Egyptian parliament decides to send troops to Palestine at end of Mandate.
- **May 12 - 14:** Arrival of second and third Czech arms consignments for Haganah.
- **May 13:** Arab Legion, ALA and local militia attack and capture Jewish settlements of Etzion bloc, retaliating for attacks on Hebron road. Jaffa formally surrenders to Haganah.
- **May 14:** State of Israel proclaimed in Tel Aviv at 4pm. Haganah launches Operation Schifon for capture of Old City of Jerusalem.
- **May 15:** British Mandate ends. Declaration of State of Israel comes into effect. President Truman recognizes State of Israel. First Egyptian troops cross border into Palestine and attack colonies of Kfar Darom and Nirim in Negev. Three Transjordanian Arab Legion brigades cross Jordan River into Palestine. Lebanese troops retake Lebanese villages of Malkiya and Qadas (on Lebanese border), attacked and captured earlier by Haganah.
- **May 17:** Haganah captures Acre.
- **May 18:** Syrian troops retake Palestinian town of Samakh, south of Lake Tiberias, and capture Zionist colonies of Shaar Hagolan and Masada. Arab Legion units reach Latrun and consolidate blockade of coastal road to Jewish quarters in Jerusalem.
- **May 19:** Haganah breaks into Old City of Jerusalem. Arab Legion comes to the rescue of Old City.
- **May 20:** UN Security Council appoints Count Folke Bernadotte as its mediator in Palestine.
- **May 22:** Security Council resolution calls for cease-fire.
- **June 11 - July 8:** First truce.
- **June 28 - 29:** Count Bernadotte suggests economic, military and political union of Transjordan and Palestine containing Arab and Jewish states: Negev and central Palestine to go to Arabs, Western Galilee to Jews, Jerusalem to be part of Arab state with administrative autonomy to Jews, Haifa and Jaffa to be free ports and Lydda free airport. Rejected by both sides.
- **July 7:** Security Council calls for prolongation of truce.
- **July 15:** Security Council resolution calls on governments and authorities concerned to issue indefinite cease-fire orders to their forces in Palestine to take effect within three weeks.
- **July 18 - October 15:** Second truce.
- **September 16:** Report by UN mediator Count Bernadotte proposed new partition of Palestine: Arab state to be annexed to Transjordan and to include

Negev, al-Ramla and Lydda; Jewish state in all of Galilee; internationalization of Jerusalem; return or compensation of refugees. Rejected by Arab League and Israel.

- **September 17:** Count Bernadotte murdered in Jerusalem by Stern Gang. Replaced by his American deputy Ralph Bunche.
- **November 4:** UN Security Council resolution calls for withdrawal of forces to positions occupied prior to October 14 and establishment of permanent truce lines.
- **November 1948 - mid 1949:** IDF expels inhabitants from villages 5-15 km inside Lebanese border, followed by expulsions from other Galilee villages.
- **December 22 - January 6, 1949:** Operation Horev launched to drive Egyptians out of southern coastal strip and Negev. Israeli troops move into Sinai until British pressure forces withdrawal.
- **December 27:** IDF Alexandroni brigade's attack on isolated Egyptian forces in Faluja pocket is repulsed

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Plunder and Destruction (In 1948)

By **Salman Abu-Sitta**, from his 1996 book, *The Right of Return*

Soon after the Israeli invasion, there was an orgy of plunder, looting and rape in which official bodies and individual Jews competed for the biggest prizes.

Fifty thousand Arab homes were looted and the Custodian of Enemy Property lamented that he could only register 509 carpets in his inventory. The rest had been looted on the way. Women were raped, killed and their fingers cut-off for rings (Segev, p.86).

Ben Gurion, not unaware of this, recorded in his War Diary, (10 February 1948, robbing the Arabs; 1 May, complete looting of Wadi Nisnas, Haifa; 17 June, looting in Jerusalem; 15 July, the terrible question of looting and rape ...etc.). In the words of the Jewish writer, Moshe Simlansky,

"The (Jewish) people were gripped by a frenzy of looting; individuals, groups, men, women and children. They descended like vultures on the spoils: doors, windows, clothes, tiles ..." (Segev p.88).

But the biggest prize was Lydda and Ramla whose 60,000 inhabitants were expelled at gunpoint. The IDF loaded 1800 trucks from Lydda alone (Segev p. 85). "An officer took his 5th Battalion to Al-Ramla for looting"- (Ben Gurion War Diary, 15 July). Ben Gurion visited the two conquered towns and was shown the spoils. He noted in his Diary on 20 July, "I saw fabulous wealth, we must save it before it is too late". The competition among government bodies, and individual looters for the possessions of the expelled Palestinians was great. High-ranking Mapai leaders, it was claimed, received "90% of abandoned property", (Segev, p.98).

At one point, the Custodian of Enemy Property reported he could not cope with keeping track of the plunder. He recorded in his Register at one point "45,000 houses, 7,000 shops, 500 workshops, more than 1,000 stores". In addition, he had to attend to picking the harvest, and feeding the chicken and sheep. He also complained that "thieves and crooks" were among his staff (Segev p.87).

What could not be carried away was burnt. The burning of the crops started as early as May 1948, which was the harvest time. It was first applied to the wheat fields in the Negev (Morris 1990, p. 181). Later, the crops were harvested to compensate for Israel's shortage of food. Economic war, in addition to the military war, was waged against the Palestinians, by cutting off food and water, (Pappe, p.95).

The first step which the Israelis undertook after the expulsion of the Palestinians is to prevent their return. A policy was created to demolish the houses to remove the traces of the villages, burn the crops to prevent harvesting them and shoot at sight any villager seen returning to recover some of his belongings.

Yosef Weitz, the originator of the "Transfer" policy to remove the Palestinians out of their land, began to distribute their land and property among the Jews. Under his policy,

there was no place for the Palestinians in the new state. That was also Ben Gurion's basic policy. He is quoted to have said, as late as October 1948, "The Arab of Eretz Israel (i.e. the Palestinians) - they have but one function left, to run away", (Morris, 1990, p.89).

The destruction of the villages started first along the Tel-Aviv-Jerusalem Corridor and the Tel-Aviv-Haifa highway, then spread to Jewish concentration areas around them. Many of the Palestinian dwellings, in towns and less so in villages, were used to accommodate Jewish immigrants. Judging by the difference between the number of the newcomers and the capacity of the new housing being feverishly built for them, it is estimated that about 350,000 Jews have been so conveniently housed in the early fifties. In 1949 alone, Ben Gurion reported that 160,000 newcomers have been housed in Palestinian homes, (Segev p.91).

The destruction was meant to create a new reality, i.e. to show there is no home to return to. The Israelis assumed that the farmers, who had lived there since time immemorial, can only recognize their villages by the houses, by the ancient trees, and by ravines and roads. These were, therefore, systematically destroyed, trees were cut, and other features levelled and ploughed over. The bulldozers came immediately in the trail of the advancing tanks.

Through a careful field survey, Falah (1996) examined the present status of Khalidi's 418 villages (excluding towns). His results are as follows:

221 (52.9%) Complete destruction.
134 (32.0%) Substantial destruction.
52 (12.5%) Partial demolition, some houses occupied by Jews.
11 (02.6%) Inaccessible villages.

418 (100%)

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Fifty years of dispossession

By Edward Said

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In the United States, celebrations of Israel's fifty years as a state have tried to project an image of the country that went out of fashion since the Palestinian Intifada (1987-92): a pioneering state, full of hope and promise for the survivors of the Nazi Holocaust, a haven of enlightened liberalism in a sea of Arab fanaticism and reaction. On 15 April, for instance, CBS broadcast a two hour prime-time program from Hollywood hosted by Michael Douglas and Kevin Costner, featuring movie stars such as Arnold Schwarzenegger, Kathy Bates (who recited passages from Golda Meir minus, of course, her most celebrated remark that there were no Palestinians) and Winona Ryder. None of these luminaries are particularly known for their Middle Eastern expertise or enthusiasm, although all of them in one way or another praised Israel's greatness and enduring achievements. There was even time for a cameo appearance by President Bill Clinton, who provided perhaps the least edifying, most atavistic note of the evening by complimenting Israel, "a small oasis," for "making a once barren desert bloom," and for "building a thriving democracy in hostile terrain."

Ironically enough, no such encomia were intoned on Israeli television, which has been broadcasting a 22-part series, *Tkuma*, on the country's history. This series has a decidedly more complicated content. Episodes on the 1948 War, for instance, made use of archival sources unearthed by the new historians (Benny Morris, Ilan Pappé, Avi Schlaim, Tom Segev, et al) to demonstrate that the indigenous Palestinians were forcibly expelled, their villages destroyed, their land taken, their society eradicated. It was as if Israeli audiences had no need of all the palliatives provided for diasporic and international viewers, who still needed to be told that Israel was a cause for uncomplicated rejoicing and not, as it has been for Palestinians, the cause of a protracted, and still continuing dispossession of the country's indigenous people.

That the American celebration simply omitted any mention of the Palestinians indicated also how remorselessly an ideological mind-set can hold on, despite the facts, despite years of news and headlines, despite an extraordinary, if ultimately unsuccessful, effort to keep effacing Palestinians from the picture of Israel's untroubled sublimity. If they're not mentioned, therefore they don't exist. Even after fifty years of living the Palestinian exile I still find myself astonished at the lengths to which official Israel and its supporters will go to suppress the fact that a half century has gone by without Israeli restitution, recognition, or acknowledgment of Palestinian human rights and without, as the facts undoubtedly show, connecting that suspension of rights to Israel's official policies. Even when there is a vague buried awareness of the facts, as is the case with a front page New York Times story on April 23 by one Ethan Bronner, the Palestinian

Nakba is characterized as a semi-fictional event (dutiful inverted commas around the word "catastrophe" for instance) caused by no one in particular. When Bronner quotes an uprooted Palestinian who describes his miseries, the man's testimony is qualified by "for most Israelis, the idea of Mr Shikaki staking claim to victimhood is chilling," a reaction made plausible as Bronner blithely leapfrogs over the man's uprooting and systematic deprivations and immediately tells us how his "rage" (for years the approved word for dealing with Palestinian history) has impelled his sons into joining Hamas and Islamic Jihad. Ergo, Palestinians are violent terrorists, whereas Israel can go on being a "vibrant and democratic regional superpower established on the ashes of Nazi genocide." But not on the ashes of Palestine, an obliteration that lingers on in measures taken by Israel to block Palestinian rights, domestically as well as in territories occupied in 1967.

Take land and citizenship for instance. Approximately 750,000 Palestinians were expelled in 1948: they are now more than 4 million. Left behind were 120,000 (now one million) who subsequently became Israelis, a minority constituting about 18 per cent of the state's population, but not fully-fledged citizens in anything more than name. In addition there are now some 2.5 million Palestinians without sovereignty on the West Bank and Gaza. Israel is the only state in the world which is not the state of its actual citizens, but of the whole Jewish people who consequently have rights that non-Jews do not. Without a constitution, Israel is governed by Basic Laws of which one in particular, the Law of Return, makes it possible for any Jew anywhere to emigrate to Israel and become a citizen, at the same time that native-born Palestinians do not have the same right. 93 per cent of the land of the state is characterised as Jewish land, meaning that no non-Jew is allowed to lease, sell or buy it. Before 1948, the Jewish community in Palestine owned a little over 6 per cent of the land. A recent case in which a Palestinian Israeli, Adel Kaadan, wished to buy land but was refused because he was a non-Jew has become something of a cause célèbre in Israel, and has even made it to the Supreme Court which is supposed to but would prefer not to rule on it. Kaadan's lawyer has said that "as a Jew in Israel, I think that if a Jew somewhere else in the world was prohibited from buying state land, public land, owned by the federal government, because they're Jews, I believe there would have been an outcry in Israel." (New York Times, 1 March, 1998). This anomaly about Israeli democracy, not well known and rarely cited, is compounded by the fact that, as I said above Israel's land in the first place was owned by Palestinians expelled in 1948; since their forced exodus their property was legally turned into Jewish land by The Absentees' Property Law, the Law of the State's Property, and the Land Ordinance (the Acquisition of Land for Public Purposes). Now only Jewish citizens have access to that land, a fact that does not corroborate The Economist's extraordinarily sweeping statement on "Israel at 50" (25 April-1 May 1998) that since the state's founding Palestinians "have enjoyed full political rights.

What makes it specially galling for Palestinians is that they have been forced to watch the transformation of their own homeland into a Western state, one of whose express purposes is to provide for Jews and not for non-Jews. Between 1948 and 1966 Palestinian Israelis were ruled by military ordinance. After that, as the state regularised its policies on education, legal practice, religion, social, economic and political participation, a regime evolved to keep the Palestinian minority disadvantaged, segregated and constantly discriminated against. There is an eye-opening account of this shabby history which is rarely cited and, when it is, elided or explained away by the euphemism (familiar from South African apartheid) that "they" have their own system:

it is the Report of March 1998 entitled "Legal Violations of Arab Minority Rights in Israel," published by Adalah (the Arabic word for justice), an Arab-Jewish organization within Israel. Especially telling is the section on the "discriminatory approach of Israeli courts", routinely praised by supporters of Israel for their impartiality and fairness. In fact, the report notes that the courts having delivered progressive and decent-minded decisions on the rights of women, homosexuals, the disabled, etc. have "since 1948 dismissed all cases dealing with equal rights for Arab citizens, and have never included a declamatory statement in decisions regarding the protection of Arab group rights." This is borne out by a survey of criminal and civil cases in which Arabs get no help from the courts and are far more likely to be indicted than Jews in similar circumstances.

It is only in the past year or two that investigations of Israel's political makeup, hitherto assumed to be socialist, egalitarian, pioneering, forward-looking, have turned up a rather unattractive picture. Zeev Sternhell's book *The Founding Myths of Israel* (Princeton 1998) is the work of an Israeli historian of twentieth century right-wing European mass-movements who finds a disturbing congruence between those movements and Israel's own brand of what Sternhell rightly calls "nationalist socialism". Far from being socialist, Israel's founders and subsequently the polity they established were profoundly anti-socialist, bent almost entirely upon "conquest of the land" and the creation of "self-realisation" and a new sense of organic peoplehood that moved steadily to the right during the pre-1948 years. "Neither the Zionist movement abroad," Sternhell says, "nor the pioneers who were beginning to settle the country could frame a policy toward the Palestinian national movement. The real reason for this was not a lack of understanding of the problem but a clear recognition of the insurmountable contradiction between the basic objectives of the two sides." (p.43). After 1948, policy towards the Palestinians clearly envisioned that community's disappearance or its political nullity, since it was clear that the contradiction between the two sides would always remain insurmountable. Israel, in short, could not become a secular liberal state, despite the efforts of two generations of publicists to make it so.

After 1967 the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza produced a military and civil regime for Palestinians whose aim was Palestinian submission and Israeli dominance, an extension of the model on which Israel proper functioned. Settlements were established in the late summer of 1967 (and Jerusalem annexed) not by right-wing parties but by the Labour Party, a member, interestingly enough, of the Socialist International. The promulgation of literally hundreds of "occupiers' laws" directly contravened not only the tenets of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights but the Geneva Conventions as well. These violations ran the gamut from administrative detention, to mass land expropriations, house demolition, forced movement of populations, torture, uprooting of trees, assassination, book banning, closure of schools and universities. Always, however, the illegal settlements were being expanded as more and more Arab land was ethnically cleansed so that Jewish populations from Russia, Ethiopia, Canada and the United States, among other places, could be accommodated.

After the Oslo Accords were signed in September 1993 conditions for Palestinians steadily worsened. It became impossible for Palestinians to travel freely between one place and another, Jerusalem was declared off limits, and massive building projects transformed the country's geography. In everything, the distinction between Jew and non-Jew is scrupulously preserved. The most perspicacious analysis of the legal

situation obtaining after Oslo is Raja Shehadeh's in his book *From Occupation to Interim Accords: Israel and the Palestinian Territories* (Kluwer, 1997), an important work that demonstrates the carefully preserved continuity between Israeli negotiating strategy during the Oslo process and its land occupation policy established in the Occupied Territories from the early 1970s. In addition Shehadeh demonstrates the tragic lack of preparation and understanding in the PLO's strategy during the peace process, with the result that much of the sympathy gained internationally for the Palestinians against Israeli settlement policy and its dismal human rights record was frittered away, unused and unexploited. "All the support and sympathy," he says, "which it took years for Palestinians to rally, returned home, so to speak, with the mistaken belief that the struggle was over. The Palestinians, as much as the Israelis, helped in giving the false impression through, among other things, the highly publicised media image of the Arafat-Rabin handshake, that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict was resolved. No serious attempt was made to remind the world that one of the main causes of the conflict after 1967, the Israeli settlements in occupied Palestinian territory, remained intact. This is not to speak of the other basic unresolved questions of the return of refugees, compensation, and the issue of Jerusalem" (p.131).

Unquestionably the moral dilemma faced by anyone trying to come to terms with the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is a deep one. Israeli Jews are not white settlers of the stripe that colonised Algeria or South Africa, though similar methods have been used. They are correctly seen as victims of a long history of Western, largely Christian anti-Semitic persecution that culminated in the scarcely comprehensible horrors of the Nazi holocaust. To Palestinians, however, their role is that of victims of the victims. This is why Western liberals who openly espoused the anti-apartheid movement, or that of the Nicaraguan Sandanistas, or Bosnia, or East Timor, or American civil rights, or Armenian commemoration of the Turkish genocide, or many other political causes of that kind, have shied away from openly endorsing Palestinian self-determination. As for Israel's nuclear policy, or its legally underwritten campaign of torture, or of using civilians as hostages, or of refusing to give Palestinians permits to build on their own land in the West Bank -- the case is never made in the liberal public sphere, partly out of fear, partly out of guilt.

An even greater challenge is the difficulty of separating between Palestinian and Israeli-Jewish populations who are now inextricably linked in all sorts of ways, despite the immense chasm that divides them. Those of us who for years have argued for a Palestinian state have come to the realization that if such a "state" (the inverted commas here are definitely required) is going to appear out of the shambles of Oslo it will be weak, economically dependent on Israel, without real sovereignty or power. Above all, as the present map of the West Bank amply shows, the Palestinian autonomy zones will be non-contiguous (they now account for only 3 per cent of the West Bank; Netanyahu's government has balked at giving up an additional 13 per cent) and effectively divided into Bantustans controlled from the outside by Israel. The only reasonable course therefore is to recommend that Palestinians and their supporters renew the struggle against the fundamental principle that relegates "non-Jews" to subservience on the land of historical Palestine. This, it seems to me, is what is entailed by any principled campaign on behalf of justice for Palestinians, and certainly not the enfeebled separatism that movements like Peace Now have fitfully embraced and quickly abandoned. There can be no concept of human rights, no matter how elastic, that accommodates the strictures of Israeli state practice against "non-Jewish" Palestinians in

favour of Jewish citizens. Only if the inherent contradiction is faced between what in effect is a theocratic and ethnic exclusivism on the one hand and genuine democracy on the other, can there be any hope for reconciliation and peace in Israel/Palestine. Fudging, waffling, looking the other way, avoiding the issue entirely, or accepting pabulum definitions of "peace" will bring Palestinians and, in the long run Israelis, nothing but hardship and insecurity.

http://www.radioislam.org/historia/zionism/said_dispossession.htm